/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a corridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equivalent that one might wish to apply to it.
484
804
823

Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
● 178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

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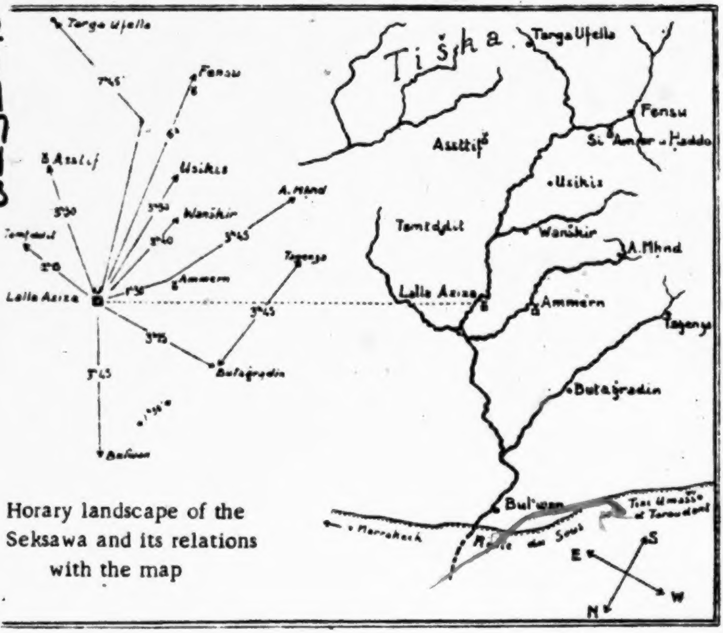
Targa Ufella
7h45
Fensu
6h
Asslif
Usikis
5h30
3h50
Wanškir
A. Mhnd
3h40
3h45
Tamfasit
2h0
Tagenza
1h30
Ammern
Lalla Aziza
3h45
3h15
3h45
Bulagradin
Bulwan
Tiška
Targa Ufella
Fensu
Asslif
Si Amer u Haddo
Usikis
Tamtdglit
Wanškir
A. Mhnd
Lalla Aziza
Ammern
Tagenza
Bulagradin
Bulwan
Tizi Umašše et Taroudant
Marrakech
Route du Sous
E
S
W
N

Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
● 178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133

(127)

Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/35 cont./

184 343 712 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the
key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership
is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its
extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
[171] fortiori among the Ud Bessebā^c Arabs, it is "the family head"
who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often
ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally
the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples
living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually
prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through.
592 If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the
families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand,
the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all
around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart,
and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and
of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the
intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of
life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover
orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In
the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a
single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by
conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
turn by the spouses in a single place: *aârich* in Mtugga, *kech-*
[178] *china* in the plains, *anual* in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the disper-
sion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
the habitat, this *tigemmi*, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," *Revue maritime et coloniale*, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

272 /36 cont./
178 /footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, *Dans le Grand Atlas marocain* /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa
[556] (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, *Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès* /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the
expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are
592 also most often individual. If two or even three generations live
476 together in the *tigemmi*, or sometimes larger ensembles of col-
laterals, it is not communism, ~~but a~~ very precise co-operative
[233] system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true,
generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is
[464] assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be
practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, *akheddam*, plur.
ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is
[241] rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the
harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing
of the sheaves: this is the system *ddu tadla* -- or after the
threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system *s-trialt*,
000 "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 178 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kānūn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This research in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the pres-
593 ent state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are
619 printed in small type./ The one of the a. Ȃbdella (1),

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Ȃbdelȁ, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction
turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different
ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is
complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain,
in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
that the a. Ȃbdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread
619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the
Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwȃn exclusively, and that of the asif n-a.
Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 In the case of the a. Ȃbdella, whose whole history indicates
634 vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost
[178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into
subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is
621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the
[613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of
which has its legend of origin.

/103 cont./

619 648 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and [241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the mountain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, 221 619 of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within [171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

178 241 221 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below. [343] [712] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

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1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/103 cont./

178 241 221 [171] /footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., [illegible] 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of 171 Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Âbda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the [361] tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

> 2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, *Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien* /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

● 178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 [423] [427] /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzûyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Âbdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchâ^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

/111 cont./
246 prohibiting cutting or opening the ag^{w}mi constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our ag^{w}mi, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: ag^{w}dal).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer
pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history.
[175] It was the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701.
Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane,
that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order
also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking
of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives
rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
675 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
221 although coming out of this international law, refer still today
178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger
as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

675 221 178 /112 cont./
by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especially Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1),

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 241 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233 241 171 2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni," Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/114 cont./
233 221 648 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Bessebâ^c confines, yet without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes, the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^{c}Abdel-mumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Bessebâ^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Bessebâ^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, [178] [427] [494] this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-lbûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been abandoned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones. "That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhumance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people. Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his arrival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up" /Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb used in the expression sbidd l^{c}âr, "to enjoin ritually" -- but here

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most
passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the
trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ^c or muchû^c, a
type of collective. But these two types together contrast with
the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political
rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential
here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself.
This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as
the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the
plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power,
diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very
different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious
bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to
the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree
of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ"
/death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described
there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the
nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221 241 Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. [539] "September, get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one [233] gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended [796] with the âchura or amâchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but
241 things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, de-
● 178 plored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

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241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion." Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazûz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game
[233] that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe.
[539] And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is already advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

/152 cont./

312 be delivered by penury or by the affluence of lands. The first dries up the ditches, effaces the tiers, leaves only relics in place: ruins inhabited by demons, black and contorted trunks of former plantings, thus in the former domain of the a. Gasa. But affluence inflicts the same disasters (2).

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> 2. When we are better equipped to investigate the subjective notions that flow from these features of the economy, one will perhaps be led to analyze the particular idea that this society has of the "measure" /see p. 22/: it is the life of the horticulturalist on tiers when he escapes the inconveniences as well as the gains of oppression. Another important notion in this order of ideas: the publicity of the field, exposed to the eyes of the commune, but which must not excite envy or the "evil eye." Whence, in certain respects, the disposition of the ground.

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● 178 That is the way that the acquisition of arable lands in the plain, an infinitely more profitable formula, and perhaps also responding to a montagnard atavism, has noticeably had effects on the slopes that surround Z'init'. This decadence responded, at the same time as to the opening of new possibilities in the plain, to that of the place of asylum, where formerly numerous refugee families had to brave an indefinite siege. Everywhere, today, the benches have fallen away on the walls. The notches that were formerly seen very high on the flanks /153/ of the Tamjlocht and of the Mzawt barely pick up the vertical noon shadow.

The historical factor, the psychological factor clearly stand out from this privileged example. But other causes, less tied to the event, are also at work. The deforestation, for example, the ruining of the soil. A striking contrast between the principal valley and those of Taddert and of the a. Lh'sen, which encase it on the W. and on the E. For reasons difficult to discern, the compost of the slopes here have resisted better than there. It remains

/153 cont./

241 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have disappeared elsewhere.
178 The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly was an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

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423 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/156 cont./

312 423 624 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the
Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Âbdella, was traditionally admin-
istered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a
few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
[173] a. L^{c}anayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the
knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places
that tradition always connects with a "Caid ^{c}Abdallah
Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These
legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a
rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Âbdella is undoubtedly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 423 178 [613] Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not occur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the different orders of phenomena. In a. Âbdella, despite the mobility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/157 cont./

312 structure of the milieu, and to a certain scansion of the times, is
423 of keen documentary interest. It perhaps reveals a former stage
of this montagnard culture and permits discovering, beneath the
● 178 individual variety that female inheritances and mutations have
amassed, triumphing over many obstacles, the authentic rudiments. Secondly, it acts in itself as a conservative brake. The
water is by no means "attached to the land," as our books claim.
But the land and the water, correlatively, are attached to the
group. One who sells or lets alienates a part of the collective
personality, which is serious. In addition, the evasion of the
right for water out of the turn of the ikhs, the intrusion of a third
party in the roll of "sons of the uncle" cause a perturbation that
the collective organism will try to eliminate. In fact, these
mechanisms imply delicate connections between all the elements
of an agrarian order. If one of them happens to be missing? It is
a cause of conflict and failure in these operations of great style
that the maintenance of the ditches, the repair of the sluices, the
pulsation of the precious fluid according to an impeccable /158/
time switch constitute. Any lag between the gentilitial appurtenance and the tenure of the soil thus arouses reactions that tend
toward the eviction, peaceful or not, of the foreign body. Firm
or resolutory sales, inheritance by the women meet the opposition
of new conservative mechanisms. In this sense one can say that
the system of water distribution is a veritable legitimacy machine.

When the forces of mutation sweep it away, whether by their
own action or by the decadence of the community or simply its
technical resignation before too much complexity, the old mold
shatters. The turns for water will henceforth be based on something else: the estimation of experts or topographical continuity.
At the end of this evolution, the portion of water, attached to a
certain landed property, would flit from hand to hand according to
[425] the uncertainties of individual transactions. Even worse, completely detached, it would itself form the object of sales and loans,
of pledges or speculation: these last two stages do not appear
312 among the Seksawa any more than in the neighboring groups. For
423 stronger reasons one does not observe there the supreme stage that
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/167 cont./

245 industry, notably at Ikis. But one could think that the present monotony of species is a recent trait and that their variety was [178] greater in former times. In any case, several indications of this exist in sectors which other traits permit one to consider as having safeguarded better an ancient originality: thus, the I. Geryun and Sekrat. In I. Geryun one finds in open space the shoots of ancient apple trees, lh'lu, and cherry trees, asemlal.

Thus a lively contrast sets the tree, which grows itself, in opposition to the field, which is made. Whence, in a society with rural, yet firm techniques, a relative and paradoxical disgrace of the arboriculture. The latter is entrusted to fate, whose steps, represented by the drought which shrivels the fruit, the fog which develops the parasites, the wind which makes the flowers fall, and the insect, which God alone knows, escape the action of man. Having reached /168/ such a degree of agricultural quietism, the montagnard will plant no more: for the olive tree, the suckers will take it upon themselves to grow; for the almond tree, it has proliferated once and for all beyond any possibility of maintenance. Generally, the effort of planting is a matter of the great ancestors. Thus with these beautiful squares of olive trees, which surround intercalary crops, as one sees at Taqennurt, in the same style as in all of the Moroccan South. Who planted all that? Mystery. Some speak of Andalous /Andalusia/ for the olive tree, just as any monumental ruin makes one think of the mythical Portuguese. The extreme case is that of the argan tree; to tell the truth, having taken refuge far to the W., it no longer affects our sector. But what a confirmation to what has just been said in the native legend, according to which this tree cannot be replanted! In contrast to the tree, the field, it, in its very material, this earth fashioned into tiers, requiring water and fertilizer, proceeds from a untiring desire. Tree given, field constructed.

423 245 [171] While for the Mediterranean peasant the tree is individual -- to the point that in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the ownership of a branch is divided among several -- here the usufruct includes an initial share of indivision, and there is a community harvest. Of course,

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Crop Variety

241 Monotony in the cereal cultivation: barley and maize. Monotony in the arboriculture: almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees. And monotony in the market gardening: turnips and carrots. Other crops may interest us: that of millet in the irrigated, by its residual character (1); that of the lentil in the dry, by its victual interest; that of alimentary flax, by its evocative archaism (2).

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[178] 1. On the replacement of millet by maize in the sixteenth century, cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. also M. Sorre, "Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets /The alimentary cereals of the group of the sorghums and the millets/," Ann. Géo., 1942, pp. 81 sq.; D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 40, on the millets that are wild or have become such. One finds some in the S. of the Drâ (Salvy, "La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain /The crisis of nomadism in the Moroccan South/." in CHEAM, 1944). [412] With this very African crop of millet had to be associated a tool, the hoe. Cf. L. Febvre, La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922, pp. 345 sq.; A. Leroi-Gourhan, Milieu et techniques, 1945, p. 125, on the prodigious adaptation of the forms of this tool to the societies that utilize it. Our milieu is familiar with several of them: achaqur, agelzim, etc.

2. D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 302.

/175 cont./

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171 /footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52. This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In other French mountains, it is in the direction of a class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's shop, forge) that the populations seek resources complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf. the very interesting collection of communications made at the I^{er} Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also, for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation of which was valuable for us.

● 178 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic
182 thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the
advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security
in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the
country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time em-
braced by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in
the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit
of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in
243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these
182 soles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a
monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination
of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect
of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life
a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

/198 cont./
423 peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the
794 occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here,
[452] and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is
credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Ȃli,
613 are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the
more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having
592 rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen	10 --	105 --
a. Ȃli	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Ȃli each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Ȃli have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Ȃli	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phe-
423 nomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been
●178 observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has
613 been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by
ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./
312 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Rea-
423 son invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimo-
● 178 nies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the
613 a. H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a
distribution where th[illegible]uld have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave
178 no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property
mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the
[613] participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families,
in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the
ground. That is the general rule. In the individual case, it has
[794] been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which
one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 178 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 133 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 634 648 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. [628] Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 [103] 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

[243] [592] 3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ait Musa Ufella]
[Ibuban]

Now, not only has /207 cont./ this territory not offered for at least
178 half a century a favorable field for the preservation of traditional
175 organizations, since it has fed the fortune of a family of chiefs and, like Bul^{c}wân downstream, it has often been the cadre of interventions of the power of the plain, ~~but~~ also it was occupied by
[631] the enemy for 20 years, as is known. The "caid" Chtittihi having been killed, his family took refuge at Z'init'. The country was almost entirely colonized by the "caid" Mokhtar, his conqueror. The a. Musa did not return until 1927. Yet one of them had probably sold the totality of the perimeter to a European protector: at least the latter argued this in the course of a long and violent litigation, which was not settled by the Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/ in favor of the a. Musa until very recent years. Violent expulsion; then de facto reoccupation, depositing of a demand for collective registering, and of a counter-demand by the European purchaser, collective and privative oppositions, investigations, judgments, arrest: all that was necessary in order to settle again juridically, after a disturbance of half a century, the ownership of the a. Musa.

Now, on the one hand, in the course of this litigation the parcellary rule -- which would have explained everything -- was never invoked; and, on the other hand, it was according to it, and down to the details, that the a. Musa have resettled. Let us reflect on which of these two facts is the most revealing of the organization and psychology of the Seksawa.

Albur country: E. the Ibuban, ...

133 This high country is covered with an epaulement by a crest that falls on the E. into the trench of the asif n.-a. Mh'nd. On all sides political frontiers torment an ensemble henceforth closed. Formerly, it was supposed to have access to water and access to the two great routes from the mountains to the plain, by way of the torrents of the a. Mh'nd and of the a. Lh'sen. It has lost them. To the E. the peaks of the Awrir n-Zkkat', of the Ameznir, and of the Ferkt, this latter overlooking the ground of the Tizi n-Wandras (1,656 meters), now constitute a limit

/213 cont./
241 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâîd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes
from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali.
Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay
[illegible]-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid,
Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a
very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal
intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter
is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going
from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches,
called lmçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines,
parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique
and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly,
[624] the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
all the ait Âbdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt
and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water
according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily
arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two
hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a
functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on
the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution.
We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over
the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was
broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according
to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of
these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such
as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that
may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5
[624] ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under
these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/214 cont./

312 distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to
178 groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of
[624] the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits
794 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution
184 protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the
habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Abdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 184 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor [312) of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 423 ● 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

/228 cont./

121 423 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons, one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the [178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a *jemâa* agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by *ikhs*, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 184 243 [312] [181] [613] [492] If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water, and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous implantation of all the *ikhs*-s is more theoretical than real. For this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this 619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is neces- [634] sary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the 794 184 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/348 cont./
613 though encircled, stubbornness goaded by scruples scarcely have an
analogue elsewhere in North Africa.

The agnatic law in fact among the Seksawa collides not only
613 with the Mussulman adherence, but with the notarial genre. No
779 part of their system is dominated more by the fiqh, that is to say,
178 in this case by the formularies. That is to be understood from the
671 writing's having come, with its prestige, to support and at the
same time to distort the memory of the group. Whence a very
curious technological richness: under the names of tenzil,
istirkab, assyas, tarikt, tabanni, waçiyya, ççadaça, is refined
and specified, but always in terms of the writing, a juridical personality
that, in the matter of matrimonial law, as has been seen,
was always able to remain exorbitant of abstract schemata.
Nothing surprising in this contrast. In the adaptation to the fiqh,
this part of the system, out of lack or perhaps out of excess of original
substance, has shown more resistance and at the same time
more docility than the rest.

613 More docility, vulnerability, because the development of the
act, portative justification, individual weapon, mobilizable property,
found in the contractual sense of the milieu an unheard-of
adjuvant. By that it easily outweighed all the other mnemonic
methods and benefited from the overwhelming superiority that
writing manifested when it was a matter of fixing a time, a name,
a circumstance. But more resistance also, for the permanence of
the ikhs, the profound accent of its life remain inseparable from
its material support, inconceivable without its articulation with
the /349/ agrarian structures and, more broadly, with the physical
and moral rhythms of these societies. This point has already been
studied. We shall return to it in the chapter devoted to the landed-property
law, apropos institutions such as the habous /wakf/ and
the ççadaqa.

178 Thus, since the generalization of writing in the Atlas during
the sixteenth century, a divergent evolution has been produced,
separating from each other, at the very least in the mode of expression,
the two faces of the local genius. It has sharpened, by
a technique incessantly more active, fortified by a mass of

/349 cont./
archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individu-
178 alism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand,
although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner
bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classifica-
tory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Genera-
tor of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for
the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa
family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a.
Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
212 t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
671 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter
178 of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the
[538] latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expres-
sion such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or
choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract
schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its
competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that
these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have be-
come a library of charters, and all this literature has even known
there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the
plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated
what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the
one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the
one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand,
only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
such archives can restore, across several centuries, the perma-
671 nence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s
178 and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four
centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but
in which we can already observe that they express a right, not
gentilitial, but communal.

613 /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
175 source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns
[623] the *jemâa* of Ad'e[illegible]dur (Idma). It specifies the *ikhs* of each of the
personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today:
a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a.
613 Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 *ikhs*-s as opposed to
178 only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a.
Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved
and are no longer counted as *ikhs*-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these *ikhs*-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

594 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere
671 is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning
the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 "Adoption," *assyas*, *tabannî*, constitutes a first divergence
671 with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of
sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on
[171] that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/." *R. afr.*, 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the *fiqh* has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the *fiqh* on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

/352 cont./
613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of
the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances
of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were
ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a
form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around
it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of
what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been
undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genē and phylaī. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

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Land Law

Double Character of This Law

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423 The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position
[128] will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of
landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of
lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important
theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly
with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a
superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

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/365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory," jrīda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/ practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

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This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

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One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordinated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoying the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/367 cont./
121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending
to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctrinal
propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts
dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same
in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, continuity
in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on
the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, powerless
to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant
perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in
the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled
above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but perhaps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The essential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legitimacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them. Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the constructions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances, arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique character. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the montagnard institution.

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Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 619 634 121 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic 681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 178 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that 592 [621] [634] [613] the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not correspond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

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776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-^{c}Aynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
[779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
177 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

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671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/426 cont./

616 121 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: *berru* or *tberrit*, "denunciation" of the original group; *tighersi*, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the *leff*.

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The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc* /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the *leff*-s, p. 193.

[178] [184] Among them today the notion of the *leff* is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the *taqbilt*-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 619 634 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as *Eghŏrti*, plur. *Ighertan*, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously *Imsifem*, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Ali, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

491 /17 cont./
distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
•178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the
result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of
making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a
sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in
[619] the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand,
unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west
by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt,
dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial
lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents
everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys
break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-pow-
133 erful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role
other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the
Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn
energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by
their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Maᶜcho
there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and
less wild.

/35 cont./
*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
*631 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
*178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1); one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

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829
[113] 1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/47 cont./
511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of
cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a
hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa
there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions
are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of
mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[306] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any
• [178] doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already
been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured
goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as
far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons
[464] to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to
France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cultivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits
511 in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of
wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of
the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the
introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material
existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar
to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

776 /49 cont./
Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en
[778] Naᶜim of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
[778] dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
/Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/50 cont./
771 entirely; in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with
a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day
these survivals appear much more like traditions than like be-
771 liefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
789 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning
escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to
play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role
in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that
are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered
the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the
jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest
way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny
jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives,
789 regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and
mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death
or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/
ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful
at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret re-
cesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of
the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
[787] Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing,
in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the
other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is
nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of
the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/129 cont./

*631 619 [361] [131] Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their independence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have retained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. •[178] In the East of the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected from external influences in the most mountainous region; they have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables, who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice throughout the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of "amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten, sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus [648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/130 cont./

*631 attachment proved by incessant revolts. Then, in the course of
619 their "siba," one would see the councils of notables reappear,
known by the name of "ineflas" /sic/ or "Aït Arbaᶜin," who resuscitated the old Berbère /Berber/ organization and, when necessary, united some of the Ida Ou Tanan with their free neighbors. Moreover, sometimes during the great periods of anarchy,
[178] such as were produced upon the death of the Sultans and the appearance of pretenders in the various provinces of the Empire, control by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was so /131/ incomplete that in the course of the "siba" one would see the ancient traditions flower again at a single stroke over immense areas. In vain the presence of Arab groups dispersed among the Haha and in the Sous plain disturbed the Berbère /Berber/ peopling; in spite of the government extended from the plains by sheiks subject to the kaids for centuries, in the South the rebel movement won over the Ksima and Mesgina and extended by degrees across the Chtouka plain up to the boundary of the Anti-Atlas, which the sherifian policy had never actually approached. During this period of liberty, each tribe re-established its political council and restored, imitating it in its own way, the organization of the fractions of the Ida Ou Tanan; thus, until the arrival of the Sultan's harka, throughout this coastal region, the independent Berbérie /Barbary/ of the plain of the South was restored.

The tribes of the Tichka have still more originality than the Ida Ou Tanan. Never in the course of history, as we have seen, did the former Makhzen /makhzan/ really penetrate into this difficult region. From the minor kings of the Seksawa, who indeed seem to have personified the resistance to the Almohade and Mérinide dominations in the thirteenth century, up to the sheiks and preachers who, under the Saadians, revived on the contrary the memory of the Mahdi of Tinmellel in order to fight better against the power of the Sultans, an effort of obstinate resistance has kept the populations of the high valleys in isolation.

The spectacle that would await us, if we could leave our high observation-post for an instant to visit the territory of one of these tribes farthest away from the plains held by the Makhzen

/132 cont./

221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

/133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
*631 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
175 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of
•178 the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

175 /134 cont./

*631 /footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas
the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected
*634 or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for
a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In
[178] the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all
the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits,
[671] an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines
[652] imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of
[712] "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the
[343] peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Ṭizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Ṣous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of
*631 contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues.
Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during

*631 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the

*634 Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère /Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a

[669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high mountains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to accept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible government of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar." Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in the fractions of the Aït ʿAbdallah, the Aït Lhasen, the Idma, the Aït Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly

*634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the traditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the

[178] "amghars," one still sees the "Aït Arbaʿin" and the "moqaddems" holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the progressive development of personal power prepares and announces the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the

[648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies

[578] disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired
recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political
evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by sub-
mission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas
has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of
the Seksawa have submitted directly, without
passing through the agency of the Bouaboud
chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in
1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their ex-
ample a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there
all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the
autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
•[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and
[174] help us to find again what the social organization of this whole
region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ᶜAbdallah, Aït Qalla,
in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
619 the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[669] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
[712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around
large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which
enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But be-
fore the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/138 cont./

114 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western
*63 Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous
*634 region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of
Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our
day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice
for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas
in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the
Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the
double institution of amghars and assemblies.

VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us,
*631 in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/
*634 institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject
regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas
that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the
[619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the
Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions
•[178] with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases
[621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the
common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with
in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above
the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian
republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted
everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant
175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the
*631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi
792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means
of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom
of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only
title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was
that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His
tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully
guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to
slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests
of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by
a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal
and religious leader.

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
•178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as
Massat, M^{c}ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements
[578] from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
128 the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
*631 method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

/142 cont./

*634 resistance modify here or there the country's pace of transformation.
*631 The geographical situation, bravery in war, or the intelligence
177 of the inhabitants can also change, according to regions,
the fate of the tribes. Actually, this small Berbère /Berber/
world does not appear to us in the same aspects in all places. On
the contrary, there is no region /143/ that would be more varied,
*634 less homogeneous. Thus, in a group of high valleys where the
*631 oligarchic regime is preponderant, the assemblies are not all
made up in an identical way, the representation of the families
177 is not the same everywhere. Sometimes "the word," the command,
642 is reserved for a few privileged villages; elsewhere we
discern the appearance of a little senate, which little by little ousts the heads of the other families and slowly prepares the establishment of personal power. Likewise, when the little states of the summits, formerly independent, live under the protection of an amghar who has established his dominion over several nearby cantons, the chief's authority squares in a variable manner with that of the notables of the country, whom we sometimes see reduced to powerlessness, or, on the contrary, kept along with their "moqaddem," as if they were still valuable auxiliaries for the new master. These frequent differences between the small local constitutions have great importance; it is through them that is best manifested the originality, one might say the personality, of all the small social organisms, whose number, limits, and importance we shall soon indicate. They remind us, moreover, of the living flexibility and the diversity of an evolution that we would be tempted to explain by too-simple laws.

*631 [illegible] remains no less certain that the great political-regime
•178 transformations reach at the same time entire regions that evolve
toward personal power, unite in resistance, or, on the contrary,
177 succumb in large masses to the pressure of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
642 It is the existence of these general movements that justifies,
in spite of local differences, the simplification that we shall try to establish by explaining all the evolution of the Moroccan South by the transition of the republican regime to that of the despotic

*631 /143 cont./
642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.

•[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
[121] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old
men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the
most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which
one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia
of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the
most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that
of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem"
named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission
to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the
Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us
analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other
hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western
Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are
more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala,
of the Senhaja of Srâir, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/,
how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances,
a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of
North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining
faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*631 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining
*634 how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics.
Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other
Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in
importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending
on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/144 cont./
121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the
121 land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
*631 the Sultan. The undertakings of ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi in the mid-
648 dle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the
Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transfor-
mation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all
the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of
submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime
of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs,
dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered
up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power
is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains
threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until
/145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the inces-
sant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the in-
*631 ternal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution
of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely suc-
ceed in following it during the course of the events that have dis-
turbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera
[578] of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with
the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
•178 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the
121 first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other
chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this
same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if
we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/145 cont./

*631 shape and disappeared, one may believe that the play of social
121 forces, remaining so similar in themselves in the course of cen-
[178] turies, was exercised formerly in the same form as today.

One might go further and seek out in other provinces of the Sherifian Empire, now subject to the Sultan's authority, the traces of an evolution similar to the one that the South of Moroc-
*631 co underwent several times. In a still more general way, the
121 Mussulman history of North Africa as a whole gives us the spec-
171 tacle of attempts, ephemeral for the most part, undertaken by
ambitious men to found a personal power analogous to that of the Berbère /Berber/ amghars and kaids of the Sous. By force of arms, or thanks to the support of religion, they build small states, assemble around themselves a group of tribes, and found dynasties that try for two or three generations to retain in a centralized organization the peoples that they have subjected to their authority.

But the conditions under which these principalities are constituted in a land remaining on the whole faithful to republican institutions most often remain obscure. Perhaps /146/ we shall succeed, in the light of this study made on a still-living past, in illuminating some of the hidden rules that explain their rise, their life, and their disappearance.

*631 The example of the South of Morocco will show us how the
121 fragile cadres of the little Berbère /Berber/ states can be broken
178 up in order to constitute a larger political organism to which one
can almost already give the name of kingdom; we shall also see
642 in what way these cantons, formerly autonomous, soon recover,
*634 thanks to revolts, their early liberty and return to, along with
their egalitarian dreams, their primitive institutions. Thus the cycle of evolution of the Sous tribes, which has its origin in organized anarchy in order to arrive at the ruinous despotism of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and does not delay in coming back to its point of departure, thanks to the confusion of the sibas, will for us be no more than the most humble aspect, the elementary form of another rhythm: that of the rise, development, and ruin of Mussulman empires, whose regular seesawing suffices to fill all the history of the Maghreb with a tireless monotony.

/154 cont./
*634 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the
166 valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little
more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better
closed to foreigners (1).

[113] 1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general
184 throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taq-
bilt" are independent: such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou
[619] Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou
Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full
freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa
remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The
[131] boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole
valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all
*634 of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road,
184 local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollec-
174 tion of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ ap-
proximately (1)
•178

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634 /Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El
184 Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almo-
174 hade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade
•178 History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63
[113] and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the
twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631 More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the
619 Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century,
174 each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little
178 since then, and if the strong political organization of this group
takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631 The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes,
619 has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the
*[634] domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions
174 in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each
[131] tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a terri-
[162] tory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to
[184] 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

/168 cont./

*631 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of
174 their ethnic unity (1).
171

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 Such are the Aït ᶜAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the
[726] Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and
seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the
north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These
• [178] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the
[666] "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to
* [634] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of
sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions op-
[616] posed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play
of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could
174 thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been
•178 profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.
*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in
[619] the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the inhabitants
178 of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to collect
124 easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the
children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed
616 only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose political
horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
*634 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
616 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as
enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit
[175] together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
000 difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

Having reached
121 /184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
•178 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
*634 the period of the development of personal power and that the
transformations that have taken place since then are explained
616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
631

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at
616 the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seḳsawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghaïa, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Aït Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).

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[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled
•[178] people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up
582 arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased
valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the
interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic
relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the
mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït
Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the
Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the
"Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in
the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous
and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances
crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on
the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south
versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the
Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen
and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the
"taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their
economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus
it can happen that political events that took place on the north
versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it
is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
[178] however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/192 cont./
*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances: /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
•[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by
the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the
amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun,
Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descend-
ing into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority
by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every
circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the
neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and
the "Aït Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the strug-
gle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the
Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries
of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our
day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural
geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the
"Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the
Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga,
Haha (1), and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

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174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
• [178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great
circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the
tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);
in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n
tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or
[616] precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

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1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the mountain
*634 leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
/High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to ex-
619 plain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/221 cont./

*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou l arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

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[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

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The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

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III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

/222 cont./
*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4),

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ᶜAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured
•178 the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/223 cont./

*634 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the affairs
789 of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a
174 magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little
.178 they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables,
powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the
*634 number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite
789 the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of
184 counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on
[174] the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of
[178] the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. There, as a
matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2)

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoᶜa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692] /footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality
than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is
feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and
then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and
imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money
thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the
moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas con-
sider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the
last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of
hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[613] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[571] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[628] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is
a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas"
or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to
the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replace-
ment. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his
magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our
day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the
ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the
agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/226 cont./

*634 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou
184 Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the
681 "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the
652 strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1). The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional ex-
652 penses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and
[651] proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the
652 institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our
•178 day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

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1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
•178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to
quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671]

1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

/228 cont./

*634 184 •178 VI. The councils of fractions or of tribes without moqaddem. -- The ancient constitution of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the region of the Tichka and of the mountain Gedmiwa, always assumed the presence of the moqaddem. In our day, even in the regions remaining independent, this elected head has often been replaced by an "amghar," who keeps supreme power as long as he is strong enough to impose his authority on the rival families. But in the other mountainous regions of the South of Morocco, the public mind has remained more hostile to the appearance of personal power. One tribe of the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Aït Oua^{c}zzoun, knows neither moqaddem nor amghar; likewise, most of the cantons of the Aït Waouzgit, before the conquest of the Glawa, had only a small senate and Aït Arba^{c}in without a president. Finally, among the independent tribes of the western Anti-Atlas, small councils of notables -- six per fraction in general -- administer the "khoms," without having a designated leader. Sometimes there, it is true, an influential notable exercises, thanks to his energy, true authority; but by his feigned modesty in the councils he tries to avoid the appearance of command. In the assembly he is only one "anflous" amidst his brothers, and if people consent to give him the title of "moqaddem," he bears it without ostentation, carefully guarding against appearing to direct the deliberations, whose outcome he has dictated in advance in secret talks with his creatures (2).

2. The tribes of the foot of the western Anti-Atlas or of the irrigated oases of the plains /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ possessed, however, before the progress of the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, moqaddems similar to those of the Haut-Atlas -- at Tiznit and among the Ida ou Gersmouk, for example. The "^{c}orf" of the Ida ou Gersmouk collected by M. Ben Daoud begins with the following proclamation: "Know

/228 cont./

*634 /footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is
184 the base on which all the affairs of the tribe
•[178] rest."

/229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the
[613] councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only
rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the
*634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to
619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the
other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that
184 the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their
isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are
constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the
Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou
[692] Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 1. In these tribal councils the conditions under
619 which the customary law is applied in case of
692 murder let the laxity of the social institutions
184 be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for ex-
682 ample, the inflas friends of the murderer give
671 back to his family the part of the fine that comes
[613] to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe.
Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/229 cont./

*634 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus
619 grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a cer-
692 tain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with
circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of
619 the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confedera-
692 tion of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun and the
184 Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a
178 minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun, for
•example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Aït Arba^{c}in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named delib-
[625] erate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1), while the mass of the Aït Arba^{c}in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^{c}a" of the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^{c}a" goes first of all among the Aït Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables
[695] and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are sum-
[681] moned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Aït Arba^{c}in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
•178 itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[695] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[681] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[792] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
[782] ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary
is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the
one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days
of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself
according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often
also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put
in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
• [178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of
the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution
that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate,
levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and
[681] the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying
contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous
431 traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In
the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of harvests
[465] are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country
and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary
of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests
or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official
measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed
in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of
the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been
said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees
[171] the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the
legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/258 cont./

343 184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^c," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

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1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

/259 cont./

343 /footnote 1 continued/ to the collective store-
114 houses of the Sous, actually says:

> "To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343 But if the area in which one can today find collective store-
178 houses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343 In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the
172 Tizi Ma^{c}cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343 In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suf-
175 fices to question the young people themselves in order for them
726 to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

/259 cont./

343 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to
178 villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that
184 were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no
361 longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

343 Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more
712 numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/
184 can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/
178 tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of
[722] the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless
(648) numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Kouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instruc-
[175] tions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVI^{e} siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs, and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

/260 cont./

343 As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the
712 inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also
*634 provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute nat-
726 ural centers of resistance against the domination of the great
chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it
[631] to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nine-
[175] teenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose
*[631] conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been
described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of
712 fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last
years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact,
•178 the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate
726 consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175] 1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the
[669] middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/261 cont./

343 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the
712 regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus
178 it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer
built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past
712 and in other regions of sedentary Berbèrie /Barbary/ what the
174 evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps
178 it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these
fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

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1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," *Hespéris*, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--
178 Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the
secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/262 cont./
121 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the insti-
• 178 tutions that we have described.

Until the middle of the last century, the small independent
178 states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the
*634 western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/
171 of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vigorous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2), their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

178 In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote
cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even
*634 the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still
know who the Aït Arbaᶜin were, who at each siba revived the
former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas,"
the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappear-
[648] ance was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate
and by the economic transformation that has been taking place
for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce.
178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life.
The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when
/263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" were the subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood. But the young people, who were raised in recent times with "sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin," with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival, an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves and whose importance only the old ones understand.

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2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I, p. 176.

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178 184 *[631] More to the East, following the crests of the mountains, in the region of the Nefis and the Glawa, the substitution of the limitless despotism of the great chiefs for the old government by assemblies is still more general and takes on the aspect of a veritable social revolution. It is the same in the Sirwa, on the Saharan confines of the Haut-Dra, throughout the region where imgharen /plural of amghar/ more respectful of the old customs, and whom the conquest by the Glawa swept away, formerly existed.

178 177 The resistance offered by the Anti-Atlas is more energetic. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in causing minor chiefs to rise and grow in importance there, especially to the south of Taroudant, nevertheless more efforts were necessary in order to destroy the democratic or oligarchic organization of the cantons dominated by their big agadirs, and to ruin that work of long centuries of independent existence, so perfectly adapted to the conditions of life. But there again, in the large valleys, on the routes of penetration utilized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and on the whole edge of the Dir, the retreat of the former institutions is noticeable everywhere.

At the same time that the Berbère /Berber/ republics are disappearing and the ruins of the agadirs become more numerous on the summits of the hills, the individuality of the cantons tends to disappear in all the subject regions; the leffs, broken by the political action of the amghars and kaids, disturbed in their unity by the overturning of alliances, lose their meaning and usefulness. New houses of sheiks take the place of the collective storehouses of the tribes; casbahs rise from the ground, and their appearance now makes us believe in the existence of a powerful feudal organization. Everywhere the domination of the chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established in haste, as if to consolidate its fragile conquest.

178 /264/ No spectacle is more instructive than that of the Berbère /Berber/ villages in the regions passing so abruptly from the patriarchal government of the assemblies to the despotic authority of the chiefs. The aspect of the houses and fortresses alone is

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178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with
which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout,
712 it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its
crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and
gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters
of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/
crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse
of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by
their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and
whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few
months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of
a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed
to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to
this proud house.

178 At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the
361 summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the
*[631] solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their
dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the
[342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above
[912] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests
the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective
fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while
the little senate, the "Aït ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte,
deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours'
361 march southward, the valley of the Aït Atman, a surprising
spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one
343 of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of
712 its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar
to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege,
[726] the Aït Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled
warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in
361 the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose
343 ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows.
712 Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecognizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this
[726] old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza." When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.

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Book III

The Rise and the Development of Personal Power

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First Chapter

The Rise of Personal Power; the Amghar, Canton Chief

I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860). -- V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). -- VI. The amghars of the Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. -- VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- X. The minor chiefs of the Ida ou Tanan. -- XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 642 661 I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- To divide equitably the benefits of power among the family heads, and in order to succeed at it, to exercise an anxious surveillance over the ambitious ones, such is the constant concern that dominates the whole internal policy of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics. But whatever the vigilance of the councils of notables, one always sees men appear in whom the taste for honors, money, or power makes them find the cadre in which tradition intends to enclose them too narrow. In all the tribes, even where oligarchic or democratic institutions are most completely accepted, chiefs rise for a time above the assemblies, seize authority, and try, in taking the title of amghar, to found by violence what de Foucauld rightly called despotic power.

Most often the results of these attempts are ephemeral. The regime of tyranny inaugurated by the amghar does not survive him, and immediately after his death the reaction of
642 the small oligarchies or the masses carries away his work. At
*634 other times, too, local circumstances are favorable for the
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642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
•178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for
two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas"
weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop;
the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich
and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A
little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality
not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers
soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also
transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a
canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in
various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of
government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of
the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great
kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their
domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in
the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political
pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft,
and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious,
without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they
substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have
destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

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*634 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement
681 thus established there are substituted for the names of all the
notables of the fraction those of three or four important person-
•178 ages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name
671 of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a
personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So."
178 Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master
[681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a
[651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/
[794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the
[735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was
[465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and
661 patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the
amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the
578 most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has
613 succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or
726 making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

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1. Arabic "ᶜayān," notables.

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175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
616 but still at present one sees the Aït arbaᶜin come down from the
•178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who
have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose
178 is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the
"taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the Aït arbaᶜin among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and Aït Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

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*634 642 .178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

[177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

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1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

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institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff, without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

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One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

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We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

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We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison. This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,

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*634 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt,"
697 in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile,
671 and a fine.

*634 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the
regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain
616 mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of
182 political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate
from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the
reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the
616 establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of
726 external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the
course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction
[682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi,
chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his
[628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the
blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of
the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

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*634 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy
616 leff: thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of
726 the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among them-
178 selves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest
of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the
bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as
long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were
already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made
war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for
had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the
adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can
be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the
Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el
Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high
valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their
assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had
been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among
them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takhar-
bant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand,
the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the
plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance,
peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized
the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to
[651] the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing.
Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of
conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject
of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and
one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The
household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly
as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on,
they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the
name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not
long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of
families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules
*634 of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit
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*634 616 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt" -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 616 178 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

175 *634 726 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

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*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of
the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to
619 the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradi-
[648] tion attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida
ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different
*634 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by
619 their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the
middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz,
•178 who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still
have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the
Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the
domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and
in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son
of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the
effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external
influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

We first of all see develop by the natural working of the
*634 institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime,
619 a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal
families, then more important personages who form a kind of
senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to
*634 whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal am-
bitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase.
619 When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By
578 courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in impor-
[613] tance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder
and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere,
one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of
an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions
[554] from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time
that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

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*634 actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts necessary
[616] for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When
• [178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once, the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arba^{c}in re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of
[726] the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true,
[642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most
642 of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

/309 cont./
175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ᶜachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaᶜin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
•[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds
616 first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1). He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

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1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

/312 cont./

175 their wishes to him" (1).

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1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important [178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 *634 619 616 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 616 121 648 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 133 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then
constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the
"Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the
"Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented
there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in
concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then
passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben
Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the
South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of
Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very
● [178] moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his
turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs
"Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and
stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the
Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa,
relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons
of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.*

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers,
152 provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest.
But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high
[648] rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened
from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/319 cont./
*634 circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assem-
152 blies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of
648 origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does
not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance,
he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by
*[631] the Sultan. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi
cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaids
without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar man-
616 ages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he suc-
ceeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the
•178 forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his
power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from current rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little, thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disappears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

*634 The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc-
*631 cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon
n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient
616 rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have
178 observed in the Tifnout (1);

1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of complete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

/320 cont./

*634 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the opposed
*631 "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the
616 valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the masters
•178 of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? --
121 In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement
121 of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an important
182 role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

/323 cont./

*634 554 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 554 •178 791 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes absolute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same regions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

(113) 2. Laoust, Manuel de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown: the government of men has become a
•178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[776] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
175 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
791 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
792 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
554 zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of
the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif
of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa;
his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of
Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives
him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to
make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively
pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of
Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition.
Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they pre-
served strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
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792 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
554 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
[224] warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and
the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious
and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands
cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed
from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

•178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
*[634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan
Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the
autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen
/makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/
and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their an-
cestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
178 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the tempo-
648 ral leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came: he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

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*634 648 •178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

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Chapter III

The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

175 *631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

121 128 *631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the
daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put
in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired
recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the
tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing
and to the ensilage of the grain.

*631 At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*634 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
571 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
• [178] the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the
beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages
destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists
time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make
the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all
circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expe-
ditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes
already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids
and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of
the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have,
then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage
gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
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*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great
chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new
resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when
villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The
retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the
importance of the domains and of the command increases, the
intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes
in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in
bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating
[557] with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of
the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by
every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the
kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of
the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
652 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
•178 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the
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*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.

652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
•178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*631 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
*634 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
661 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
602 Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
43 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
443 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
563 annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[543] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
[655] chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
*634 turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
•178 and the governed increases more and more, and one would imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of today came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
619 the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
178 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still be observed in the more distant territories that have been successively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

[175] In the short period during which the large commands were constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs, sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original territory.

/349 cont./

*631 territory. The way they conceive taking possession of the country
*634 varies according to whether it is a matter of one or the other of
619 the two zones. In the first case, the great chief tries above all to
•178 exploit the conquered tribe in order to reap the largest profits
from it; his action is rapid and direct and is imposed with one blow; in the second, his penetration is slow, is carried on through the agency of the amghars, and bows patiently to all the subtleties of the play of local politics. But whatever the means employed may be, after a variable time, which depends on the resistance met, the condition of servitude of the subdued populations is identical.

*631 XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- The re-
*634 gions on which the covetousness of the mountain lords is most
721 gladly directed, with the goal of seizing the resources that they
can offer, are those of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas and of the upper valley of the Sous. Hardly established in the command of their tribe of origin, utilizing the forces that the latter can give them, they rush by the most direct route, following the major lines of communication in the Atlas, toward these productive lands. They prefer the south, where one most easily escapes the control of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The rich tribe of the Ihouziyoun, the Aït Semmeg of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, the Souktana have successively excited the conquering ambition of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi and his successor and enemy, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi, then of the Gontafi and of the Glawi. In these territories that they regard as veritable colonies, they are exclusively interested in the profits that they can find.

Their first concern is to settle in the richest valleys, to construct command houses there, and to superimpose on the ancient organization an administration exclusively in charge of imposing heavy contributions on the defenseless Berbère /Berber/ tribes.
Moreover, driven from the country at each revolt, they come
[648] back in force on the first occasion and end up, thanks to the es-
tablishment of the Protectorate, by staying there.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in
the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*631 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
*634 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
616 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the
178 valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who,
by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tif-
nout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
726 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the
669 amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
•178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*631 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
*634 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
726 all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaᶜan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaᶜin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaᶜin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/352 cont./

*631 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the
*634 mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is
•178 often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira ex-
*634 tend between the trail of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and the mountains of the
619 Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Ber-
[616] ber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/
*631 brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting
*634 from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the
619 border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ^{c}Abdallah Ou Bihi,

175 /354 cont./
*631 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*634 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
726 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his
enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies
taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission;
nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby
cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct com-
mand of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At
the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes
the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik
Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*631 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
*634 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
651 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Boua-
•178 boud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own
chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no
advantage a piece of land from which they get their living.
Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
[616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disap-
peared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being
effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar
726 Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the com-
*631 bined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal
and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi:
Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

/355 cont./

*631 *634 •178 616 726

obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accepting only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.

The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. [671] The customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 *634

XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] [642] [175] [669]

The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nineteenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
•178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transfor-
[175] mation of the tribes.
[642] The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to
[669] enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arba^{c}in, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
*631 we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ^{c}Abderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Ja^{c}far, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

/356 cont./

*631 *634 •178 /footnote 1 continued/ moqaddems. The kaids of Talemt, of the leff of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh," facilitated the establishment of amghars among the Aït Waggounsan and the Ida ou Kwais.

[726] In order to dominate the independent amghars more surely, the kaid sets them against one another and undertakes their division by secret agents. If it is necessary, he even sends them arms with which to fight one another, and he avoids letting them grow in importance. By a natural reaction against the hidden endeavor of the kaid, each minor chief tries somehow /357/ or other to set up for himself a command and a zone of influence in which he reserves for himself exclusive guidance of external policy. At the same time he passes himself off to the people as the last rampart of liberty and thus ensures new prestige for himself with the inflas of the last backward cantons with the old constitutions, who come to his house to get his advice; by these indirect processes all the mountains thus become entangled, without knowing it or wanting it, in the complicated politics and intrigues of the great kaids.

178 616 *634 XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- It is easy to understand how much the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, which served the amghars so well in their beginnings, is henceforth disturbed. The overturnings of alliances that we have already observed (1) multiply; the minor chiefs pass from one side to the other with the warriors of the cantons that they dominate; even within their command the ancient leffs are confused.

178 616 It would nevertheless be inaccurate to hold that the ancient notion of the leff has entirely disappeared from the very minds of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. On the contrary, they continue it in

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1. Cf. above, p. 398.

/357 cont./

178 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from
616 the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends.
Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern"
and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of
the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are
therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj ʿAbdallah
Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last
century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of
the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the
Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the
Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost,
even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for
power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aït
Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their
own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the
[578] former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rival-
*[634] ries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the
*[631] struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named
[648] by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking
into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the
*631 whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs
*634 of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by
this study, any original feature that might have permitted dif-
ferentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority
of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the At-
*631 las really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become
absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who
178 preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the
venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but
their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate
or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

/358 cont./

*631 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in
.178 the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of
174 the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid
174 tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by
171 appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of
[712] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated
[648] life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

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*631 175 648 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them: taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

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Chapter IV

Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

121 178 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

/365 cont./

121 .178 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 648 We shall now see the central government intervene in a more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 648 177 178 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habitudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is henceforth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère
178 /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
*631 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
648 kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the
[554] mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

175 /380 cont./

159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*631 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.

[616] The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
[342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1), by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

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1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

/386 cont./

175 hooting of the Berbères /Berbers/. Sidi El Hasan was clever
648 enough to promise the command of their tribe to the principal
669 notables and succeeded in stopping a movement of revolt that
would have been fatal to him. He was proclaimed the same day
*[631) by the sheiks of the Haha promoted to kaids.

Upon the death of Moulay el Hasan, whose reign had been
175 marked, however, by serious efforts to organize the tribes of the
648 South, the news of his disappearance made the "siba" break out
669 at one blow in all the subjugated country south of the Tensift,
*631 and all the casbahs were besieged. The kaids, then in a harka with the ruler in the Gharb, left the Sultan's camp by double stages, sought refuge with Si ᶜAisa ben ᶜOmar, the powerful kaid of the ᶜAbda, and from there reached their country in secret. Only the most powerful, the Mtouggi, the Gontafi, the Glawi, succeeded in finding refuge in their great fortresses; most of the other chiefs had to go to take refuge at the tombs of the most venerated marabouts, while their houses were looted and the lands taken back by their former masters.

At the time of the "siba" that was caused in 1904 by the difficulties of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at grips with Bou Hamara, we see the minor chiefs hold fast behind the battlements of their ramparts, lend one another mutual support, thanks to the loyalty of /387/ their slaves and mokhaznis, and succeed in re-establishing their previous situation only at the price of long months of effort.

•178 The first concern of the Berbères /Berbers/, after besieging
and ruining the kaid's house, is to bring together a council of
669 notables and to try to re-establish the institutions of old. One can
*631 even say that there is no surer way to judge the state of transfor-
*634 mation of a subjugated region than to observe the nature of its "siba" organization. In the high mountains where the memory of the moqaddems has not yet disappeared, although a sheik has governed the canton for long years, the constitution of the little Berbère /Berber/ state is integrally re-established; lower, on the slopes, the notables chosen, according to the same rules as formerly, in the different hamlets of the former "taqbilt" take the title

/387 cont./

•178 of Aït Arbaᶜin and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
*631 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
*634 they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away, and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended. It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed, to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

*631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-estab-
*634 lishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
648 long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
669 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
178 to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are re-
[616] peated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids reappear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arbaᶜin are abandoned and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

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[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

*631 /388 cont./
*634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
648 too burdensome a yoke.
669 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by
•178 the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and mokhaznis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their territory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is prolonged, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Aït ᶜAisi, and the chiefs of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Ida Ou Ziki, in ruins today.

178 IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions. --
*631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the Sultan, the most important transformations that took place in the life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed to-
*[634] ward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly separated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single chief received from the sultan the right to command. This enlargement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and revolts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

/389 cont./

•178 *631 726 648 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, engaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to [177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

177 648 671 But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conformable with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists [779] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/390 cont./
*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
•178 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal
power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to
join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it
is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid;
the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in
order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and
their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire,
without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/394 cont./

121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma^{c}cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultaneous
*631 appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
*634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
● [178] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition between the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas, and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the establishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
128 under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
*631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in disturbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

/406 cont./
121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legislation
*631 of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism
or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the existence
*631 of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
•[178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics
of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the
masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/409 cont./
792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
*631 obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa
648 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries between
171 the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the
same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el
Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the development
792 of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
*631 efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of
648 rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less servile;
so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their
lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that
of the representatives of the Sultan.

• 178 Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
792 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the displacement
795 toward the South of the large maraboutic centers between
*631 the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of
648 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then
from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in
the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political
importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the
kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the
desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden
among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where
the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages
have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary populations
of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peaceful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
*631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

/410 cont./
178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions
of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the
language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the
/411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the
social and political structure of Berberie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the
Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berberie /Barbary/ when

/411 cont./
182 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
792 Makhzen /makhzan/.

795 However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
•178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and
the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
*631 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
648 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked
17 in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of
the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère
/Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/416 cont./

648 •[178] In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ᶜAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 177 166 *634 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

/417 cont./

619 167 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 191 178 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out
the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys
by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

● [178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and
which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of
grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the
country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region
neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[348] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a
time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and
the arrangement of these curious constructions.

The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
343 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
712 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
178 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida
621 ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction
of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt,
Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those
of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

[312] These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] [351] [417] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 [671] [178] We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to ob-
tain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621] 1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized
any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches,
and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on
the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and
cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

[423] The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[621] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to
the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque,
who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then
paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the